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designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Polynesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

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467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the priviiege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 554 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 [423] As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes